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Preface

When a sabbatical year became due in 1952–53, I inevitably chose the Balkans, picked Greece, and ended up studying village life. The Balkans had interested me since 1929, when I first went as an instructor to The American College of Sofia, where I spent six years (1929–32, 1934–37). There was also a year's tour as Agricultural Attaché in the American Embassy in Belgrade (1945–46).

As for Greece, I had dreamed of getting to know her better ever since the days when I was an undergraduate major in Classical Greek. Two voyages of discovery in 1930 and 1937 made me even more anxious to live there for a spell.

And as for Greek village life, this was a natural subject in view of my training and principal research interest. At first, I expected to study only one or two easily accessible villages, using the same tested techniques in which I had been trained as a sociologist and which I had employed in writing *Balkan Village*, the account of a single community studied in depth. But a thorough survey of the literature in both Greek and other languages, conducted with the help of a competent Greek bibliographer, showed that no general work on Greek village life had been written in over fifty years and that relatively few articles on particular places or regions had appeared. This explains why I was ready to move from the security of precise social-science procedures to the more vulnerable area of personal interpretation, subjecting my conclusions to the scrutiny of at least a score of men and women, each familiar with many aspects of Greek rural life, who agreed to read the rough drafts of this work and test my comments against their experience. A six-week field trip

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121 throughout Northern Greece in 1955 and a briefer visit to Attica in 1959
[114] gave me a chance to note the rapid social changes occurring in the places I had come to know well in 1952–53.

The social scientist, if he is to understand the behavior which he studies, not only must observe what is done but also must try to probe the meanings attached by the actors to what they do. Throughout this work, therefore, I have tried to show how the world looks to the Greek villager. I do not necessarily agree with all of his views, but I think that he has the right to be heard. Wherever possible, I have let him speak for himself.

123 Aside from my research activities of the usual type, I also had approaches to the Greeks through the eyes of my wife Margaret who shopped in the Greek market with her Greek neighbors. Through my twelve-year-old daughter Gerda and my ten-year-old son Robert I shared in the wonders of their daily adventures with Greek friends and playmates. I profited by learning about the vicissitudes and the fortitude of our Greek upper-middle-class landlady, who shared her villa with us. The crises attending the succession of maids and laundresses and their husbands opened up avenues for further exploration.

124 Too much credit cannot be given to Bessie Adossides, my interpreter, who knew the Greek countryside as though it were her own garden and who could translate into idiomatic English the most important nuances of the spoken lan-
[122] guage. My reading knowledge of modern Greek improved considerably during the year, but time was too brief for me to learn the spoken Greek sufficiently for conducting interviews on my own.

104 In transliterating Greek terms into Latin letters I have approximated the spelling and have not attempted to follow the pronunciation. Those who speak modern Greek will therefore find the transliteration awkward, but those who have studied ancient Greek will find that many words are familiar.

436 Prior to May 1953 the value of the dollar was 15,000 drachmas; after
[652] that date the dollar was worth 30,000 drachmas. On May 1, 1954, the drachma was revalued at 1 to 1,000, so that 30 drachmas were equivalent to a dollar. For that reason, in using all figures prior to 1954 I have given the 1954 value, moving the decimal point to the left three places.

122 Thanks should be given to the Social Science Research Council for a grant to help me with my Balkan studies; to the Associates for International Research, Inc., of Cambridge, Massachusetts, for extended research and secretarial assistance; to the University of Kentucky and Harvard University for many courtesies shown; and to the American School for Classical Studies in Athens for giving office space to a nonarchaeologist in their richly endowed Gennadion Library.

000 Many individuals have helped me in countless ways. I can only name some of them here to acknowledge my great indebtedness to all. Those listed, of

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type among us — the 'chewer' who would squander the $500 right and left in the hope that the next year the cousin in the United States would send some more money in answer to a plea of distress!"

Here, then, is what one might call an illustration of a normal process of change in attitude, the peasant becoming the farmer. When the house rather than the accumulation of more land begins to be stressed, the farmer is moving to "city ways." Throughout the south, in the Peloponnesos, the younger people seem more ready to move cityward than do their elders, who still insist that one should hold onto the land.

In Northern Greece when there is a shift from the land the whole family, young and old, moves together, whereas in the Peloponnesos the young people make the move on their own. This seems to indicate that when the traditional attitude toward land changes, another basic change in peasant life is occurring — in family relationships.[4] However, everywhere in the southern villages, as elsewhere in the country, the village shopkeeper, barber, shoemaker, and other artisans, as well as the priest, all own land which they farm if they can find the time; if not, some member of their family works it instead.

On the basis, then, of dozens of interviews — only a small sampling has been quoted — carried out in thirteen thousand miles of travel in the provinces, some generalizations may be attempted. Wide regional variations are apparent. One may generalize, though conscious of many exceptions, that peasants on fairly good soil which they work with their time-honored methods by hand and not by machines hold strongly to the belief that the earth and the earth alone is their treasure and their great security. On the other hand, where peasants in Northern Greece and elsewhere live in areas frequently troubled by war, or on marginal land, they will reluctantly accept a chance to move away from their family fields — even to the cities. But those who sold their land before the war and lost all of their money because of devaluation now appreciate the worth of land even more. In the fertile plains where mechanization has come, the attitude toward land corresponds more to that in Western Europe and the United States: it becomes a commodity rather than a part of the family heritage. In areas of high education and of long-time contact with the city, such as in much of the Peloponnesos or in Attica, the urban values and attitudes as to land and family have so permeated the thinking of the young that they prefer nonfarm work when this can be found, abandoning the emphasis their elders still place upon "the good earth" as treasure, security, and heritage.[5]

The Cycle of Land Ownership (Attica)

Whatever the quality of the villager's attachment to his fields is now, he always has had, and still has, an intimacy with his fields that the city

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On the credit side, one must reckon 5 to 7 okas of milk each year from the producing animals for family consumption, with some of this being worked into cheese. The family also has a supply of meat from the flock. But the greatest gain is a 15 percent annual increase in the flock that the owner can expect even if he sells the lambs listed in the table of income; this means that a year later the flock of 700 should number 805, barring serious diseases or natural disasters.

Some of the discussions revealed further interesting facts: winter pasture costs 50 drachmas per animal in winter and 20 in summer; a sheep needs more than one oka of salt each year; the chief shepherd, when he goes on business trips to arrange for the sale of his milk or lambs or to hire shepherds, travels by bus, sleeps in a hotel, eats in restaurants, and thinks of himself as a businessman; there is a small tax per oka of milk which is paid to the winter community by the "grocer," who buys the milk.

What was to have been a short conference beginning at five in the late afternoon extended to nine o'clock without a moment's let-up. There was much loud talking, which would lead a stranger to expect a fight the next minute; but then someone would make a humorous remark at which everyone would laugh. Use of pantomine, modulated voice control, appeal to the neutral listener to agree to the case one was presenting, humor, and willingness to follow an argument to its logical conclusion — all made one think of the agora of classic Athens transferred to a dimly lit, modestly furnished upstairs office of a gentle, well-informed government bureaucrat. And just at the crescendo of what seemed to be the verbal prelude to physical violence, the words "symphonia, symphonia" would ring out, thus showing that agreement had been reached. Voices and feelings would calm down for a while, before some new dramatic moment would build up again. Berates, the Karagoun, sat more quietly than the rest but seemed to enjoy the session just as much.

As we parted in the dark streets of Ioannina, where Turkish architecture with its balconies and minarets in the moonlight makes one suddenly feel very much a part of the East, Christos Berates agreed to visit us late on the next day in Konitsa and take us out to his night encampment.

In the time intervening, through the courtesy of the director of agriculture, I had an opportunity to read the classic Greek work on the nomads, published in 1925 as a bulletin of the Greek Agricultural Society under the title of *Nomadic, Permanent and Agricultural Livestock Production in Greece*.[11] It was most encouraging to find that the observations I had made corresponded as far as they went to those of the author, Demosthenes Sirakes. Needless to say, he provided many more details than I could have collected in the time at my disposal.

For one thing, he estimated the nomad livestock owners in 1925 at 13,700 families, divided as follows:

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Notes

Chapter I. The People of Greece

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1. This version of the legend was told by an old shepherd to a hunting party which had taken refuge in his hut from a storm brewing over Lake Stymphalia in the northern Peloponnesos. Mrs. Bessie Adossides, who served as my interpreter, had been in the party and told the story to me. For a less colorful version, see A. W. Gomme, *Greece* (London, 1945), p. 11. [124]

2. A prominent subgrouping running through these three divisions is that of the Asia Minor and other refugees who were settled in Greece in the 1920s. Also, divisions among the city Greeks appeared following the French Revolution, when commercial opportunities opened up, creating a new merchant bourgeoisie in contrast to the "old patriarchal class whose members were the political administrators of the Sublime Porte and whose strength lay in landed wealth and special prerogatives." See S. G. Chaconas, *Adamantios Koreis: A Study in Greek Nationalism* (New York, 1942), p. 38. [563] [441] [565]

3. S. Manolas, in a personal conversation, pointed out three factors accounting for the settlement in cities of Greeks coming to America: as "late" immigrants, there was little land available to them for homesteading; they came over individually — not as families — and could not run a farm; they were not here to work the land, for Greece was still their home. They wanted to make money and go back, staying on here to take care of "one more dowry, one more acre to buy." For many, time ran out and they did not go back. To these one might also add the Greek's unfamiliarity with the mechanized agriculture found in the United States and the greater ease with which he found employment in the cities.

4. This point of view is borne out in an article by Anton-Hermann Chroust, "Treason and Patriotism in Ancient Greece," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, April 1954: "The democrats, like the oligarchs, bore their native city a quite strange kind of love: the desire to dominate it completely and, if necessary, to exterminate their political antagonists. . . . It would be difficult, indeed, to find a prominent Athenian politician, irrespective of his political persuasion, whose public actions were not motivated by partisanship or loyalty to some faction or club within the city rather than by true patriotism," p. 287.

5. The books dealing with the history of Albania, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Rumania usually discuss the role of the Greek clergy in the spread of Greek culture. As one example, see N. Forbes and others, *The Balkans: A History of Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, Rumania, Turkey* (Oxford, 1915).

6. A good characterization of the city Greek by Dorothy Lee appears in Margaret Mead, ed., *Cultural Patterns and Technical Change* (Paris, UNESCO, 1953), p. 79: "The city Greeks consider themselves very different from the peasants. There is a vogue for peasant handicrafts but not for peasant attitudes. Urban Greeks like to take on the ways of foreigners, to use the products of technology, even the processed foods of technology. Many French and English words are used in their speech. [114]

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000 They take on the attitudes of the Western World, using clocked time in business and living a life relatively pressed for time, adopting to some extent the Western scientific approach and objective external limits, instead of the more animistic approach and the body-patterned limits of traditional Greek culture."

W. Miller, in *Greek Life in Town and Country* (London, 1905), gives a penetrating description of Greek urban life fifty years ago.

7. Robert P. T. Coffin, *Helias Revisited* (Athens, 1954), p. 35.

8. Bruce Lansdale, director of the American Farm School of Salonica, maintains in a letter that the qualities I have set forth for the city Greek hold for the villager as well: "Almost any villager can give you some very sound ideas on how the Greek government should be run as well as how the American, the Russian, the British, and any government in the world should be run. I remember hearing from villagers at the time of the Dewey-Truman election campaign that they were quite sure that Truman would win the election, which in fact he did. I would furthermore say that the intellectual curiosity of the villager is every bit as great if not greater than that of the urban Greek. This is in part because he does not have the pseudo-sophistication of the urban Greek."

9. For an anecdote illustrating the Athenian attitude toward the peasant, see H. D. F. Kitto, *In the Mountains of Greece* (London, 1933), pp. 138–139.

10. One Greek friend, well known for his frankness and objectivity, reacted to my characterization of the city Greeks as follows: "I, as a Greek knowing my Greeks, would add that he is a spendthrift, since a great percentage of the Athens families are living beyond their income; he is an individualist; he is suffering, and has since his appearance, from megalomania which pushes him into starting to build marvelous things without funds." [511]

11. For further information about the islanders, see Andreas Adonakis, "Fishermen of the Aegean," *Geographical Magazine* (London), XIV (1941), 86–91. One of the most complete studies in English of the folklore of any Greek island is that by Philip P. Argenti, *The Folk-Lore of Chios*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Eng., 1949). See also J. Theodore Bent, "On Insular Greek Customs," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, XV (1885–1886); and Nikolas G. Chalkiopoulos, *Hydrotika Laographika* (Concerning the Folklore of the Island of Hydra (Hydra, 1931), chiefly a collection of customs surrounding the engagement, wedding, pregnancy and childbirth, death, the church, holidays, the sea, and the building of a house. Peter Gray's *The People of Paros* (New York, 1942) is a highly entertaining account of a sojourn just prior to World War II on this attractive island southeast of the Peloponnesos. See also Osbert Lancaster, "The Island Greeks," *Atlantic Monthly*, CLXXXII (1948), 59–64; and H. F. Tozer, *The Islands of the Aegean* (London, 1890).

12. Of course, many areas and even villages on the mainland have special characteristics for which they are noted and which have developed through long years of relative isolation. The Maniates from Mani in the southern Peloponnesos afford one such example. See P. L. Fermor, *Mani: Travels in the Southern Peloponnese* (New York, 1958).

13. By far the most helpful book on Greek peasant life was written by Rennell Rodd, *The Customs and Lore of Modern Greece* (London, 1892). It has proven a bench-mark against which to gauge my own impressions sixty years later. [127]

Jacques Ancel is one of the few historians writing about the Balkans who takes the peasant into account. See his *Peuples et nations des Balkans* (Paris, 1926), pp. 107–114. Considerable insight into the nonmaterial culture of the mountain people of Thessaly is gained from A. Hadjigakis, *T 'Aspropotamo Pindou* (The Village of Aspropotamo in the Pindus Mountains), 3 vols. (Trikkala, 1946–1950). See also V. Valaoras, "To Helleniko Chorio" (The Greek Village), *Ellin-Ellinika* [sic] (Hellenic-American Monthly Review), VII (1956).

14. No purpose would be served in a book of this sort in trying to trace the controversy and weigh the arguments for and against the Greek claims of direct descent from the ancient Hellenes. On the one hand, we have the extreme (and today unaccepted) view of Jacob Philipp Fallmerayer that Slavic invaders from the north [114]

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completely replaced any Hellenic stock. His *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea Während des Mittelalters* (History of the Peninsula of Morea in the Middle Ages) (1830) is one of his important works. This has been refuted by Karl Hopf, who claimed that Fallmerayer used documentary evidence which was proven false.

Other works dealing with this question are those by George Finlay, *History of Greece from its Conquest by the Romans to the Present Time*, 7 vols. (London, 1877); Rodd, *Customs and Lore;* and J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion: A Study in Survivals* (Cambridge, Eng., 1910).

A detailed analysis of the problems would involve two separate investigations: (1) that from the standpoint of physical anthropology to determine the biological resemblances of the modern Greeks to those living in classic times; and (2) the survival of the cultural traditions, including the Greek language, from the days of early Grecian greatness to the present. After these investigations have been made there remains the even more difficult — and perhaps impossible — task of relating point one — the biological — to point two — the cultural. But the reader is entitled to the interpretation given by educated Greeks to the presence in Greece of different-language-speaking groups. According to Ph. Annino Cavalierato, former Counsellor of the Royal Greek Embassy in Washington and now in the Foreign Office in Athens:

"The Albanian and the Vlach dialects, spoken in some areas, denote a foreign influence on a segment of the Greek people rather than the existence of a racial minority. The same could be said about the Heptanesian dialect, a blend of Greek and Venetian Italian. These dialects, Albanian, Vlach, Heptanesian, tend to disappear, and this is another proof of their superficial character: had they been truly the national feature of a minority, they would be perpetuated by education and culture. Being, instead, a passing historical accident, people care little about them and allow them slowly to disappear.

"As for the 'Macedonian' dialect, it should be noted that a 'Macedonian' dialect and a 'Macedonian' nation are both a fairly recent political invention. According to most linguists, 'Macedonian' is just a Bulgarian patois. During the days of the Ottoman Empire, the province of Macedonia was inhabited by Turks, Greeks, Serbs, and Bulgars, the three latter ethnic elements being denser in areas closer to the respective countries. At the outcome of the Balkan Wars (1912–13) and of World War I (1914–18), this province was distributed among Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria. A wide exchange of populations followed, as a result of which each individual was free to resettle in the country he considered his own. It is reasonable to assume, then, that those who remained in each country consider themselves as nationals of that particular country. There is only one explanation for the fact that Bulgarian is still spoken by some Greeks of Western Macedonia, while Greek, that was widely spoken in Southern Bulgaria, for example, has completely disappeared from that area. The reader will easily find explanation for this.

"Turkish is the only foreign language spoken in Greece by a minority in the true sense of the word. This Muslim minority, living mainly in Western Thrace, was not exchanged in 1923, as were other Turks living in Greece, because the Greek minority of Constantinople was also allowed to remain in their homes."

Chapter II. Mountains, Plains, and the Sea

1. The artist is Mrs. Maria Alexandrakes, who has also been connected with the Local Government Division of the American Mission. She helped us gain many revealing insights into Greek Life.

2. For two Greek sources on the habitat, see George Megas, *Geographia tes Ellados* (Geography of Greece) (Athens, 1958); and George Kolias, *Historike Geographia tou Hellenikou Chorou* (Historical Geography of the Greek People) (Athens, 1948). For especially useful sources in English, see *A Handbook of Greece* (London,

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tobacco is the only product they can raise due to the lack of additional land. I think this is the reason why the Mission sent somebody to do a study of the village in 1952" (personal communication).

Chapter VI. The Changing Life of the Shepherd

1. It is of interest to note the breakdown by products on a percentage basis for the total income from sheep. Figures for Greece are taken from C. S. Stephanides, "Sheep — Man's Best Friend in Greece," *Foreign Agriculture*, XII (July 1948), 153–155, as is the quotation about the characteristics of the Greek sheep used in the text of this chapter. Kentucky figures are from C. D. Phillips and J. L. Pearson of the University of Kentucky College of Agriculture.

	Greece	*Kentucky*
Milk and milk products	45.10	
Mutton	14.26	
Lamb	24.77	84.00
Wool	8.68	16.00
Hides	7.19	
	100.00%	100.00%

2. Although this chapter is primarily concerned with some of the human factors in the small livestock industry, the table below will give some basic information for those interested in livestock numbers and products. These data are based on official Greek Ministry of Agriculture figures.

Total Number of Sheep and Goats, Greece (In Thousands)

Period	Sheep	Goats
1935–38 (average)	8,304	5,111
1938	8,139	4,356
1945	6,262	3,066
1946	7,228	3,462
1949	6,785	3,629
1956	8,738	4,643
1957 (estimate)	9,300	4,900

3. See P. J. Iliopoulos, *L' Attique au point de vue physique et économique* (Athens, 1951). Three other studies that deal with sheep production are: P. H. Kontos, *Dase kai ktenotrophia eis ten Hellada apo oikonomikes kai politikes apopseus* (Forestry and Livestock Production in Greece from the Economic and Political Aspect) (Thessaloniki, 1932); G. D. Kyriakos, *E Ktenotrophia mas* (Our Livestock Industry) (Athens, 1941); V. Handziolos, *To Provlema tes ktenotrophias en Helladi* (The Problem of the Livestock Industry in Greece) (Athens, 1941).

4. The description of the three systems of grazing practices (Vlachs, village ranchers, and village farmers) is taken from the American Embassy, Athens, Report No. 1056 (February 29, 1952), p. 13.

5. The study of transhumance as a habitat adjustment is almost a field in itself and will not be tackled here. Suffice it to say that I recognize the difference geographers make between transhumance and nomadism. Nevertheless, in the next section on the "nomads" of Epirus, I have followed conventional practice in thus alluding to these people, although most of them may actually be practicing transhumance rather than nomadism.

6. An interesting source in this connection is Jovan Cvijic's *La Péninsule balkanique, géographie humaine* (Paris, 1918). This was published in French before it

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appeared in Serbo-Croatian, the author's mother tongue. In 1922 the first volume entitled *Balkansko Poluostrvo i Južnoslovenske Zemlje: Osnove Antropogeografije* (418 pp.) appeared in Belgrade. Volume two (254 pp.) appeared in 1931 with the subtitle *Psihičke Osobine Južnih Slovena* (Psychic Characteristics of the South Slavs). The connection between Cvijic's work and the present study is the interesting map facing p. 282 of volume one, which shows the migration patterns of the various shepherd groups throughout the Balkans. Any thorough study of shifting migration habits would have to take Cvijic's work as a starting point at least, although this would not imply accepting all of his generalizations about the effect of the physical environment upon social life.

7. Although no attempt has been made to cover the literature dealing with sheep production in the Peloponnesos, I have noted in passing that Z. Duckett Ferriman, in *Home Life in Hellas: Greece and the Greeks* (London, 1910), tells of the pastoral pursuits of those living near the site of ancient Sparta early in this century: "Pastoral occupations become a necessity where tillage is impossible, and in every land the wildest districts are the domain of the shepherd, who is the most uncultured element of the population, and also the hardiest. The youths of Sparta were not kept in the valley, but sent up into Taygetus to acquire the training which they turned to account against the Messenians of the plain. . . . And so, today, the Arcadian mountaineers are noted for their strength and hardihood, and are perforce shepherds. Every cottage has its flock, tended during the day by children, elusive, faun-like beings, who manifest neither pleasure nor discontent nor surprise at the presence of the stranger, so unlike in this to the inquisitive, obtrusive Greek child of the towns and villages of the lowlands. At sunset they are relieved of their task by their fathers, who keep watch by night against wolf and robber. At the end of October all the live-stock is moved to the plains, marching in solid phalanx, goats in front, sheep in the middle, mules and donkeys behind, the well-armed shepherds and their fierce dogs on either flank" (pp. 28–29).

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Another interesting source is volume one of *Travels in the Morea* (London, 1830), by William Martin Leake. Interesting information about sheepraising in the western Peloponnesos is found in K. N. Eliopoulos, "Poimenika tes Eleias" (Pastoral Life in Elis), *Laographia*, XII (1938), 253–285.

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8. Many travelers to the Balkans come into contact with these nomads and write about them. M. E. Picot, *Les Roumains de la Macédoine* (Paris, 1875), analyzes all of the source material available to him, and prior works need not be cited here. Lucy M. J. Garnett, *Greece of the Hellenes* (London, 1914), devotes a few pages to pastoral life, stressing particularly the appearance of a Vlach encampment and the authority of the Vlach chieftains. Sir Charles Eliot, *Turkey in Europe* (London, 1900) makes this interesting comment on the Vlachs in Macedonia: "They remind one of those ingenious pictures in which an animal or a human face is concealed so as not to be obvious on first inspection, though when once seen it appears to be the principal feature of the drawing. In the same way, one may live and travel in the Balkan lands without seeing or hearing anything of the Vlachs, until one's eyes are opened. Then one runs the risk of going to the opposite extreme and thinking, like Roumanian patriots, that most of the inhabitants of Macedonia are Vlachs in disguise" (p. 409).

Andreas Adossides, "The Shepherds of Greece," *Geographical Magazine*, September 1943, pp. 217–225, gives a vividly written account.

Jovan Cvijic, "The Geographical Distribution of the Balkan Peoples," *The Geographical Review*, V (June 1918), 470–482, estimates the number of Arumani (or Vlachs) at about 150,000 to 160,000 scattered individuals. He points out that during the Middle Ages they were very numerous and constituted the majority of the population in Thessaly and in Aetolia, two areas respectively called Great and Little Vlachia.

V. T. Vikas, "Ethima para Vlahophonois," (Customs of the Vlach-Speaking People), *Laographia*, VI (1917), 169–188, is chiefly a description of holidays and recreation.

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own proprietors even under Ottoman rule. Also see D. Loukopoulos, *Poimenika tes Roumeles* (Pastoral Life in Roumele) (Athens, 1930).

16. Some of the references to particular villages are taken from the village studies of the Near East Foundation, the Mutual Security Administration, and the Greek Ministry of Agriculture (mimeographed, 1951, 1952).

An account of some shepherd festivals is found in an article by K. Marinos, "Vlahopanegyria," *Nea Estia*, XI (1932), 586–590. Although this work deals only with the mainland of Greece, some readers interested in the islands may wish to consult the following representative studies of sheepraising there: For Chios: Philip P. Argenti and H. J. Rose, *The Folk-Lore of Chios*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Eng., 1949); G. Madias, "Oi Poimenes en Kardamylois" (Life of the Shepherds in Kardamyla-Chios), *Laographia*, VI, 225–226. For the Dodecanese: K. Doxiades and others, "Dodekanesos: Genike perigraphe" (The Dodecanese: General Description), *Ministry of Reconstruction Series*, no. 21 (Athens, 1947), 109–117; An. G. Vrontes, "E melissokomia kai to mandradorema ste Rodo" (Beekeeping and Sheepraising in Rhodes), *Laographia*, XII, 209–228. For Karpathos: M. G. Michailides-Nouaros, *Laographika symmikta Karpathou* (Folklore Miscellany for Karpathos), (Athens, vol. I, 1932; vol. II, 1934). For Lesbos: D. Ch. Eleftheriades, "Ktenotrophia" (Livestock Industry), *Lesviakon Emerologion* (Lesbian Almanac), 1950, pp. 281–282. For Skyros: Nike Perdika, *Skyros: Entyposeis kai perigraphai, historika kai laographika semeiomata, ethe kai ethima, mnemeia tou logou tou laou* (Skyros: Impressions and Descriptions, Historical and Folklore Notes, Manners and Customs, Glossary of Popular Speech) (Athens, 2 vols., 1940 and 1943 — pp. 157–165 deal with the major occupations, including that of shepherd; also see V. Antonakes, "E Poimniovoske mas" (Our Sheepraising), *Skyros*, 1948, pp. 112–114.

[Turks]

Chapter VII. Woman's Work Is Never Done

1. In any account of family life in Greece, some mention should be made of the family system among the Turks who live in western Thrace. When visited in 1953 and 1955, their daily lives were not too much affected by the Turkish-Greek controversy over Cyprus. Like other Greek citizens, the Turkish men must perform military service according to the law, but, since they are not considered very reliable soldiers, they are permitted to pay the fixed sum which exempts them. One of the problems in the last war was the inability of the Greek officers to command non-Greek-speaking Turks.

Much of the family life of these Turks centers about the farm and strict religious observances. To visit Turkish homes during Bairam, at the end of their month of fasting, makes one feel that he is in the interior of Turkey, although Greek place names and Greek officials bring one back to reality.

For two days at the time of Bairam the men do no work in the fields and are glad to spend leisurely hours with strangers interested in their way of life. They invite the guests to their homes which have been newly whitewashed for the holidays. The Turks remove their sandals or shoes at the bottom of the stairs leading to the main room, but non-Turkish visitors are not expected to follow this practice. There in a carpeted room the guests are seated on the few chairs, while the Turkish men squat cross-legged on the floor. A rich meal of *dolmades* (grape leaves stuffed with ground meat and rice), chunks of veal, dark bread, and a dessert of dripping sweet baklavas served with black coffee proves very filling. No women make their appearance, and men do all of the serving. Women are very much in evidence throughout the villages of western Thrace because they have many different tasks to perform, but they do manage to keep their faces partly covered by their veils when they see strangers approaching.

Marriage arrangements among the Muslims we visited are under the control of the Mufti in Xanthe. Polygyny is not very common, according to the Greek officials.

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

About the Series

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THESE CASE studies in cultural anthropology are designed to bring to students, in beginning and intermediate courses in the social sciences, insights into the richness and complexity of human life as it is lived in different ways and in different places. They are written by men and women who have lived in the societies they write about, and who are professionally trained as observers and interpreters of human behavior. The authors are also teachers, and in writing their books they have kept the students who will read them foremost in their minds. It is our belief that when an understanding of ways of life very different from one's own is gained, abstractions and generalizations about social structure, cultural values, subsistence techniques, and the other universal categories of human social behavior become meaningful.

About the Author

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Ernestine Friedl is associate professor of anthropology and sociology at Queens College in New York. She holds the Ph.D. in anthropology from Columbia University. Before coming to Queens, she taught at Wellesley College and at Brooklyn College. She has done field work among the Chippewa Indians of northern Wisconsin, and has published material on that tribe. Her field work in Greece was done in 1955-1956 and has resulted in several articles for professional journals as well as this book. Dr. Friedl has served as secretary-treasurer of the American Ethnological Society and is a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

About the Book

Life in Vasilika has a flavor of its own. As Dr. Friedl points out in the introduction, one has two reactions in viewing this way of life for the first time—a strong sense of its familiarity and a surprised awareness of its strangeness. In the exploitation of these two dimensions, she has given us a compelling and intellectually satisfying analysis of a village in a contemporary national society that has ancient historic roots.

In this book the author makes one concrete part of life flow into another—from land resources to cotton cultivation, division of labor, concepts of cleanliness and order, the furnishing of homes, the dowry system, the ceremonies and festivities. And everywhere the evaluations that the people of Vasilika place upon these parts of life are made clear. In this way a patterned way of life as a whole emerges, and the reader learns about what the people do, and with what resources, at the same time he is learning about what the people think and feel about what they do.

[P. viii is blank]

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

ABOUT THE SERIES

We acquire insight into the quality of interpersonal relationships in Vasilika, which are like those between man and nature. Both are characterized by constant struggle. The individual is sustained and revitalized for this struggle within the family, and the struggle itself is a means of maintaining the identity of the self and of society.

GEORGE AND LOUISE SPINDLER
General Editors

Stanford, California
1962

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

To John Peristiany I am indebted also for his stimulating analysis of his own Greek field materials; John Campbell's treatment of data from his study of a Greek shepherd community was similarly illuminating.

For technical assistance of a high order, I am obliged to Robert E. Logan and to John Berthelsen.

Dorothy Demetracopoulou Lee, Kimon Lolos, and Ivan Paneras read an earlier draft of this manuscript and offered many helpful suggestions; to them I offer my best thanks.

My husband, Harry L. Levy, professor of classics and dean of students at Hunter College in the Bronx, deserves special mention. He is the other member of "we" when that pronoun is used in this volume. He participated in all the field work. His knowledge of the Greek language, both ancient and modern, has been an unfailing resource. His insights have provided clues to much of the life in the village. His editorial assistance has been invaluable. In truth, the book could not have been written without him.

E. F.

New York City
1962

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

lead to a peasant's becoming a "broker" tend to produce a conflict with his kinship obligations (Wolf 1955:57).

The better part of a year's field study in a small Greek village has made clear to me the great usefulness of Redfield's and Wolf's conceptions. However, I shall try to show that in Greece the role of kinship ties as a mechanism for maintaining urban-rural connections is extensive and permeating. Nor does a change in social status from poorer to wealthier Greek peasant, or to any other more prestige-giving position, result in a rupture of kinship ties and obligations.

It is therefore the purpose of this paper to point up the peculiar significance of kinship in "the web of group relations" between town and country in Greece, and to show the process by which, in this region at least, it comes about that the elite are likely to be one's own relatives.

To begin with, considerable social mobility exists in Greece (Antonakaki 1955:108–111), but this mobility does not come at the expense of kinship ties. The family remains a strongly functioning unit in spite of the fact that its members may occupy different social positions and may live in many different communities—in villages, towns, and cities (McNeill 1957:16–17). Therefore, it is often the upwardly mobile members of his own family who link the villager to the national culture and the national social structure of Greece. As a result, not only are cultural and social changes expected in the village, but continuing urban influence is an integral part of village life. The mediators, the "brokers," in Greece can be understood best not only as individuals who are part of a distinct social class in specific economic and political relationship to the rural peasantry, but also—and perhaps more importantly—as links in a chain of relations within a family whose members may be distributed through the various levels of Greek social structure. Such a chain of relations has further ramifications. The network of associations established by the villager's kin in the towns and cities helps to increase the possibility that his business even with non-kin mediators will be conducted on a personal basis. Greeks find particularly abhorrent any relationship which is totally impersonal and functionally specific. The tax collector who comes to the village from an office in a provincial town may not be your son, but he may work in the same office with your son. And if he does not, he may work with the son of another family in your village. From the Greek point of view, a connection through one's own kin is best, but failing that, a connection through a relative of another village family is decidedly better than no connection at all.

Let us see how this system operates as a medium of cultural transmission. The village of Vasilika in Boeotia, on the mainland of Greece, has many characteristics of Wolf's open peasant community. The vast preponderance of the crops grown is sold for cash; the farmers, as I prefer to call them, depend upon credit to finance not only the crop but also the purchase of diesel-powered irrigation pumps, tractors, chemical fertilizers, and the like. There is considerable wealth display and rivalry for social position among the village families, which is another of Wolf's criteria. However, Vasilika is an open community in

3:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956) 1959 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

contrast to Lewis, has noted the challenge to family ties which upward mobility creates in the wider Mexican scene as he describes it.

I therefore suggest that peasant communities differ both with respect to whether they exist as part of a nation in which social mobility for peasants is characteristic, and also with respect to whether kin ties are maintained in spite of mobility. If my analysis of the Greek material is valid, the determination of whether one or both of these conditions exist may well be an essential part of the study of peasant communities, and should also be included in the criteria for peasant typologies. Since peasant societies are by definition part societies, the question of whether kinship is a mechanism by which peasant communities maintain connections with the nations of which they are a part would seem to be a query which is not only strategic but one which anthropologists are especially qualified to explore. The implications of such studies for a clearer understanding of the structure and functions of kinship in urban communities as well as in rural villages are already apparent from the results of the work recently done in this field (Firth 1956; Garigue 1956).

NOTES

[1] This is a revised version of a paper prepared for a symposium on European peasant cultures held at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association at Chicago in December, 1957.

The research on which the paper is based was conducted in 1955–56, supported by a grant made under the Fulbright Act and by supplementary funds from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. My husband, Harry L. Levy, Professor of Classics at Hunter College, participated in the field work.

[2] Renée Kahane of the University of Illinois, in a private communication, points out that Greek women not infrequently become nurses or dentists. Village girls, she adds, may also become domestic servants in the towns or in Athens. These particular alternatives were not reflected in the genealogies or other data we collected in Vasilika, Boeotia.

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4:Andromeda's E-5 (no date) 1957 EH1 Greece EH1

Letter to the Editor

Greek Kinship Terms in Everyday Use

Sir:

114 197 601 As a graduate student in anthropology and a person of Greek descent, I would like to correct the inaccuracy, both as to words used and their modern forms, of the Modern Greek kinship terms in Edmonson's "Kinship Terms and Kinship Concepts" (AA 59:393–433). The inaccuracy does not affect the thesis or conclusions of the paper, nor is it the fault of the author but rather of the vexed language problem of Greece. The terms given by Edmonson are not the everyday terms of the Modern Greek spoken language (*demotike*), but the revived Ancient Greek (more or less) terms of the artificially created literary language (*katharevousa*). Indeed, Pernot found it necessary to treat the two as separate languages in his *Grammaire du Grec Moderne*.

This is not the place to go into the bitter language controversy; suffice it to say that any dictionary written by a Greek is to a greater or lesser degree an unreliable index to what is actually said by the people. Edmonson's procedure of checking his Greek dictionary data with a native speaker was of course correct but unfortunately to no avail, as most Greeks of any sophistication will feel called upon to give the "right" or dictionary word if asked, especially to a professor. However, this is not to say that the *katharevousa* terms are never used in speech, but their frequency is low and the number of speakers is limited.

601 [114] [104] Since the actual kinship terminology of Modern Greek has, to my knowledge, not yet been published, I am submitting the kin terms used by my relatives and compatriots in America and in Laconia in the hope that they may be made available for use by interested researchers. (The system of transliteration is roughly that of Kahane and Ward.)

Modern Greek Kinship Terminology

father	patéras, babás
mother	mitéra, mamá, mána
parents	ghonís
brother	adherfós
sister	adherfí
siblings	adhérfia (n. pl.)
son	yos
daughter	kóri
child	pedhí (n.)
parent's father	papús
parent's mother	yáya
parent's parent's father	prospápu
parent's parent's mother	pedeyaya
child's son	éngonas
child's daughter	angóna

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

1946, United States influence has replaced British, and in 1951 Greece was admitted to the NATO alliance along with her neighbor, Turkey. Greece thus belongs to the free world, yet her geographical position, along one margin of the Communist heartland of eastern Europe, creates a constant threat to the nation's security.

Ever since the second world war the Greeks have therefore had to wrestle simultaneously with the problems of poverty and of political insecurity. Both were old problems in Greek history, but the scale was new – so much so that Greek resources were by themselves quite inadequate to meet the difficulties that loomed large after 1945. Only the delivery of substantial amounts of foreign, and especially of American, aid prevented political collapse and Communist revolution in the years just after the war.

This book will try to describe the successes and failures in this struggle, and make an estimate of the prospects for ultimate success in relieving poverty and improving social stability in Greece. Before launching on an account of what has been achieved, however, something should be said about the character of Greek society, with special attention to the points of difference that divide us in the United States from the Greeks.

Life in the Villages

The fundamental fact about Greece today is that in spite of the rather rapid growth of towns and cities in recent decades, the country still remains predominantly agrarian. In 1950, according to a special agricultural census, rural families comprised 4,770,783 persons, or 63 per cent of the estimated total population of the country in that year. Some of these families supplemented their agricultural income by seasonal employment in towns or on roads or other public works, and should, perhaps, not be counted as full-time farmers.

7:Friedl E-5 (1955-1956)1958
EH1 Greece EH1
Boeotia

Hospital Care in Provincial Greece

*Ernestine Friedl**

Introduction

The rural population of the province of Boeotia in Greece now makes considerable use of hospital care for childbirth and for serious illness.[1] Both men and women, even those of the older generation, allow themselves to be hospitalized without objection, often, indeed quite willingly. This is a new phenomenon. It is a particularly interesting one because of the many psychological and practical obstacles in the way of the hospitalization of a Greek village patient. Traditionally, there has been a tendency to view hospitalization as a form of desertion of the sick person by the members of his family.[2] Transportation to and from the villages to the provincial town in which the hospitals are located is difficult and expensive. Besides, doctors' bills and hospital costs themselves are quite high by local standards.

Anthropologists have long been interested in the problem of introducing hospital care in rural regions where scientific medicine is not part of the culture. They have also studied attempts to improve the use of scientific medical facilities in cultures where science is known, but is only sporadically utilized by the rural population.[3] In either situation anthropologists regularly record the many difficulties encountered. The analysis of the reasons for the difficulties has resulted in the enunciation of certain principles, which may be summarized as follows: beliefs and practices associated with curing illness in any culture have important latent functions both for the personality of individuals and for the operation of the social structure. In other words, to maintain or to restore physical well-being is the manifest purpose and often

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1. This is a revised version of a paper read at the meeting of Section H of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in New York, December, 1956.

The research on which the paper is based was conducted in 1955-56. It was supported by grants made to me under the Fulbright Act and by supplementary funds from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. Dr. Friedl's husband, Harry L. Levy, Professor of Classics at Hunter College, participated in the research throughout.

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2. Margaret Mead, ed., *Cultural Patterns and Technological Change*, UNESCO, 1953, p. 250.

[113]

3. William Caudill, "Applied Anthropology in Medicine," in *Anthropology Today*, A. L. Kroeber, ed., Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1953, pp. 771-806; Alexander H. Leighton and Dorothea C. Leighton, *The Navaho Door*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1944; Margaret Mead, *op. cit., passim*; Benjamin D. Paul, ed., *Health, Culture, and Community*, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1955, see especially pp. 31-34, 139, 231, and 261.

[p. 24(A)]

/1/

BIOGRAPHY

The writer was born in 1909 in the village of Tjakrak a few miles away from the largest hazel nut exporting harbor of Kerasoun on the Black Sea. 114

During 1914 he attended his village school. He was deported to the interior part of Asia Minor with the rest of his family and during deportation, 1916-1918 he lost his parents and a brother.

In 1919 he entered the American Near East Relief Orphanage in Morsovan Turkey. After a year of study in Anatolia College he left for Greece in 1922 with the rest of his people.

He attended the Chalkis Gymnasium High School for a year. In 1923 he entered the migrated Anatolia College from Turkey to Greece. He graduated in 1926 and served for a year as teacher at the American Near East Relief Orphanage in Syra, Greece. In 1927 through the help of Professor Kelsey he came the United States and took his Bachelor of Science in 1932 from Cornell University. In 1932 he returned to Greece, and after a year's service in the Greek Army he started extension work in Kilkis area under the supervision of the Near East Foundation. During the years in extension work he married in 1934 Paulymnia Charpidou, a refugee from Pontus. Later a /2/ son was born. In 1939-40 he transferred to the Athens area to demonstrate the practical value of the new established system of extension. [873]

In 1940 through the interest and help of Professor L. D. Kelsey he returned to Cornell for advanced work.

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A SOCIOLOGICAL SKETCH OF THE VILLAGE OF MEGALI VRISI.

PART I.

Introduction:

The author was born in Turkey on the shores of the Black Sea. His parents were the descendants of some of the first colonists that were established by the Greeks in ancient times. His ancestors lived in the same village for many centuries and it was for the first time in many centuries that he went with the rest of his people to Greece. The exchange of population between Greece and Turkey marks one of the rare historical accomplishments of the Greek people. The establishment of a million and a half people under the prevailing economic conditions of that period was a gigantic job for a small nation like Greece to accomplish.

The author, as a refugee among his people, had a chance, after getting his education at Cornell, to work with them to share with them the difficulties they met in their new environment. He shared the life that was mixed with tears, toil, sweat and patience. He also shared the marriages, the holidays and the dances at the village square. His eight years of experience in the village of Megali Vrisi and his share in promoting agricultural, recreational, health and educational activities led him to the description of the village of /4/ Megali Vrisi

The Rural Sociology Courses under Dr. Sanderson have influenced him more than anything else to see, describe and evaluate the social make up of the life of the people of Megali Vrisi.

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

PREFACE

At the present stage of the reconstruction of our country the building of houses is of colossal importance.

At no other time, since the reconstruction of liberated Greece began, after the 1821 Revolution, was there such a great opportunity for building activity in the Greek mainland as at present.

The 430.000 destroyed houses in our country, most of which are to be found in the countryside, form 24% of our total number of houses, and the great majority of these have been either totally destroyed or damaged beyond repair.

At the present moment, the attention of all our authorities is focussed on the best solution of the housing in the Greek countryside.

The question is of paramount importance and is much more difficult than that of reconstructing the urban centres where a different way of life allows the application of solutions usually common to all towns, and even to all countries.

But the problem is quite different in the countryside where the 'land' factor and the 'human' factor, free from the intense influence of civilization, have a direct bearing on the way of life, the methods of living and consequently the types of dwelling. It is for this reason that a great importance should be attached to all the forms of dwellings originating in Greek tradition. In this way we will be able to understand how similar problems have been faced previously by the same people and in the same surroundings.

The present survey by Prof. G. A. Megas, who is already known from his previous works on Thracian, Lemnian and Thessalian Houses, is the first attempt at a synthetic presentation of the whole problem of the Greek Popular House.

The problem is not an easy one.

The Greek house has developed through the centuries, under the influence of many civilizations on those physical factors which usually determine its form. The author achieves a global presentation of the problem in conjunction with the similar problems in the countries

[P. 4 is blank]

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*342

surrounding Greece, and thus gives the reader a picture of the situation which had never before been so clearly described.

It will be quite natural that many objections will be raised to certain interpretations and co-relations and it would be advisable that these objections be heard so that the question may be completely clarified and that the people engaged in this problem be fully informed.

The first step, however, towards this direction has already been made and it is due to Professor Megas.

The Coordinator of the Greek Recovery Program
C. A. DOXIADIS

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9:Megas 1, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

INTRODUCTION*

Greek popular architecture was first systematically studied by the architect Aristotelis Zachos, who examined especially the old «noble houses» of Northern Greece, which constitute the most composite and developed forms of urban dwellings of the post-Byzantine period. One of the rules drawn from the studies of this memorable man is that the developed form of urban houses has always its foundation, as regards the general disposition, in the architecture of the farmers' dwellings; consequently the primary form of the houses of Jannina (and correspondingly of the other urban centres) should be sought in the houses of the Epirus villages and of the other villages of Northern Greece (1).

114 342* 369

Professor An. Orlandos was the one who also mainly studied the urban houses of the last Byzantine years and of the subsequent period.

The popular house in its simplest form, the rural form, was first viewed and studied, in its internal division and composition, by an artist, Mrs. Angheliki Hatzimichali at Skyros, Roumlouki, Ikaria, Samos and Villia. Late D. Loukopoulos, at the same time, gave us a good description of the houses and household utensils of Aetolia.

The present writer, while serving in the educational centres of Thrace in 1922, had the opportunity to study the rural house of the Hevros area, but the publication of his survey on the «Thracian House» was delayed.

114 342*

Further systematic research of the popular house followed by the

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* This survey was originally compiled for announcement at the 3rd Plenary Session of the International Commission on Folk Arts and Folklore, which met in Paris on 1 - 5 October, 1947. The original form of this announcement is maintained in the present publication.

1) **Ar. Zachos**: Ἀρχιτεκτονικὰ Σημειώματα — Ἰωάννινα (Ἡμερολ. Χρονικά, Vol. 3 p. 298). Cf. also conclusions of my book Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις, 1918 pp. 75 and 108.

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

• 114 * 342

Folklore Archives of the Academy of Athens, by the Society «Greek Popular Art», by the Ministry of Reconstruction and independently by various Greek or foreign scholars of Folklore and Architecture.

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When I began these studies at the Didymoteichon area, some 25 years ago, my purpose was different: it was to study the customs and habits of the people, in relation to their religious practices. But, when I entered the house of the peasants, I had to face a multitude of questions, pertaining to the methods of popular construction, the disposition and arrangement of space, the stabling of the cattle, the storage of cereals and their protection from humidity and rats. questions to be solved not only by reference to climate, soil, biology or history, but which had an immediate relation to the other factor, the one that dominates and regulates all the others, the factor of man.

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Thus, I felt an attraction towards the house as a dwelling and at the same time as a work that came out of the hands of the peasants who build their own houses in this area, as in many other parts of Greece, on the system of mutual social assistance.

My attention was especially drawn to the variety of architectural forms, presenting an interconnection and an inter-relation, and showing an organical evolution, natural to every human activity.

The examination of these houses would help me in discovering the original form, from which the present type of dwelling has gradually evolved. If a house presented a modification or an increase of spaces, I had to find out how these modifications or additions were made, how the new spaces were adjusted to the original nucleus of the house, how they were later included in the house as a whole and formed with it a new and increased type of dwelling. That is why I did not limit my study to one or two most representative types, but extended it to all the modifications and variations, as I tried to find the way followed by popular architecture from the simpler to the more composite forms.

At the same time, I studied the ways and methods of house building, how the roof, the hearth, the storeroom, the oven and the loom were constructed. Thus in spite of the many technical difficulties I had to overcome, I found that the study of popular dwellings was the most interesting and fascinating, and at the same time, the least explored part of my folklore researches. The folklorist may thus clearly see in this study how the man of the people, following traditional types and systems he inherited from his ancestors, adapts them every time to the actual facts and means at his disposal, so that they may satisfy his needs and the needs of his family

121 architecture, which would serve as a basis for the reconstruction of
362 the villages. As a consequence, the rate of the surveys has quickened
727 during the last years and, under the illuminating guidance of the Gener-
653 al Director of this Ministry, the architect Mr. C. A. Doxiadis, most
[127] of the area of Greece was systematically surveyed, and the conclu-
sions drawn from them are ready for publication. These conclusions
were kindly put at my disposal and, together with surveys previously
carried out by myself and other researchers the amount of data thus
compiled may be considered as adequate to enable me to proceed to
the more general study, outlined above.

184 It must be noted that almost everywhere in the Greek country-
*342 side besides the modern and more composite forms of houses, we
511 can still see the simpler and older forms of the popular house which
[583] are adapted to the economy of the poorest class of peasants. Either
[597] because the house is an element essential for the dowry of the
daughter, or because it is a custom that the bridegroom should build
his own house, the father of the bride or the bridegroom are
obliged to build even an elementary dwelling, a «hut», a «bun-
galow» or a house of one of the simplest forms prevailing in the
area. And, as later the needs of life increase and the standards im-
prove, together with the conceptions of the elementary conditions of a
comfortable and healthy life, the house is extended or completed, or a
new house is built, according to the more composite forms of housing
prevailing in the district. Thus, in many parts of Greece, we can
follow step by step the evolution of popular architecture, noting the
intermediate points which it followed on its evolutionary process.

• 114 I have tried, as far as possible, to render this evolution graphic-
ally on summary plates, appended at the end of this book. One can
find each of these forms in the explanations given at them.(1).

After examining the modern Greek house and comparing it with the houses of ancient Greece, we shall proceed to the study of the houses of neighbouring countries in order to show their relation to the Greek house.

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1) For a complete understanding of the text, sometimes even these plates are not sufficient. There is need to refer to complete drawings and figures of my previous publications mentioned herein.—I am greatly indebted to the service of the Ministry of Reconstruction and especially to architect Mr. Ricutherios Sikepers, who has compiled my drawings. I also express my thanks to Mr. Zenon Papadopoulos who did the translation of this book; and to Mr. H. Lidderdale who was kind enough as to go through the English text.

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1

ling of the Bairaktari of Nikahi in Bregumatja (see above pp 100 foll. figs. 64 and 65).

5 Nopcsa, fig. 22: Plan of a house at Bajza, district of Kastrati.

6 Nopcsa, fig. 23: Plan of a two-storey house at Kolaj.

7 Nopcsa, fig. 25: House with a veranda at Brebula.

8 Nopcsa, fig. 24: House with a veranda at Toplana.

9 Nopcsa, fig. 28 House with a veranda at Vukaanlekaj (Hoti). (See above p. 104 fig. 70).

10 Nopcsa, fig. 27: Plan of the upper floor of a house at Mali Rencit (Above, p. 103 fig. 69).

11 Nopcsa, fig. 26: Plan of the upper floor of a house at Mali Rencit (Above p. 103 fig. 68)

12 Nopcsa, fig. 30: Plan of the upper floor of a house at Kastrati (Above p. 104 fig. 71).

13 Nopcsa, fig 29: Plan of the upper floor of a house at Serna.

14 Nopcsa, fig. 31: Plan of the upper floor of a house at Kastrati.

15 Nopcsa, fig. 31: Plan of the upper floor of a house at Kastrati.

16-19 Plans of Houses of central Albania according to a description by J. von Hahn in »Albanesische Studien«, Jena 1854, I pp. 169 foll.

WHO IS WHO

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The Author: George Anastase Megas, graduated from the School of Philosophy, Athens University, in 1913, Doctor at the same School in 1925. Post graduate study at the Universities of Leipzig and Berlin, 1927-1930. Since 1936 Director of the Folklore Archives at the Academy of Athens and since 1947 Professor of Folklore in the University of Athens. (Address: 26, G. Iakovidou Street, Athens, 8).